

## CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

## INFORMATION REPORT

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The following is an unedited translation of a clandestine publication of the Tudeh Party Youth Organization (TYPO): Organizational Problems, No. 99, dated 6 April 1953, which presents a report delivered to a joint session of the Central Committee and the Tehran Regional Committee of the TYPO on the occasion of the TYPO's tenth anniversary.

SUMMARY

Over 30 years ago the seeds of the Youth Organization were laid on a 'progressive and revolutionary basis, which germinated later by its participation in the revolutionary movements of Gilan, Comrade Radmanesh (Secretary-General of our Party) and Comrade Rusta (Secretary of United Council of Trade Unions) being among the first members of this newly born organization at that time.

Later the members of that organization founded our Party after the collapse of Reza Khan's regime, and by the initiative of the Central Committee of our Party the Youth Organization was founded formally in Farvardin, 1322 (April 1943).

First Phase of Activities

The Central Committee of the Tudeh Party appointed a Central Committee for the new organization, which was lacking in qualified members, cadres, and were lacking experience, traditions and adequate zeal for the accomplishment of their duties. In short, it was a period test for the possibilities of expanding the organization and attracting youth. The newly born organization in its first phase, which lasted till the convention of the First Congress of the Tudeh Party in Farvardin, 1323 (April 1944) consisted of only several cells

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in Tehran, and none in the provinces, with the exception of Tabriz, where there were a few members. No relations existed between the center and the provinces, and thus it could be claimed that the organization had not been born, but its seed had only been planted awaiting development and germination.

#### Second Phase

During the second phase, following the convention of the First Congress of the TP, comrade Radmanesh was appointed as leader of the newly founded organization, and this appointment proved later to be very useful for the TPYO. Dr. Radmanesh expanded the organization, inspired a new spirit by organizing weekly conferences, where musical and theatrical programs were performed, declarations and speeches were made, special attention was paid to athletics and sports, and at the same time a newspaper began to appear as the organ of TPYO, by the name of Mardom Barayeh Javanan (Mardom newspaper for youth). His guidance and ways of propaganda and Party activities were so typical, practical and deep rooted among the new generation, that even today the TPYO continues to follow the instructions and policies adopted and put into practice by him in those days.

Besides these achievements, committees were formed in the provinces, cadres were trained, the internal affairs of the organization were put on a strong basis, the ranks of the organization were expanded, number of members increased, various Party commissions, such as organization, propaganda, financial, inspection, were set up subject to the Central Committee, and the cells of the organization gradually were converted into lively organs, full of energy and fervour. It was in this phase of its existence that the YO accepted the membership of the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

The Central Committee decided to call a provincial conference in September 1945, but this was halted by the preventive measures taken by Sadr-ol-Ashraf's government, which resulted in the closing of our club.

#### Third Phase:

The intolerable conditions created by Sadr-ol-Ashraf destroyed the democratic freedoms, and out of the several hundred members of the TPYO about one hundred were left. Dr. Radmanesh spared no efforts to retain the framework of the TPYO. The meetings were held outside the city and often not more than 10 members out of the whole organization attended. But the armed revolution in Azerbaijan inspired a new spirit in our Party, and consequently in the TPYO. The organization was expanded in the schools and factories, reaching its highest degree both in quality and quantity by the second half of 1945. By the end of 1945 the democratic movement regained its freedoms, and once more the TP and TPYO resumed their open activities.

#### Fourth Phase:

The movement already started among the masses of our country reached its climax in the early days of 1946 due to the success achieved by the revolutionary rising in Azerbaijan.

At this time the verbal propaganda of the organization became more accessible to the masses, and because our ranks gradually became denser, the need of

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centralization and observance of discipline became a vital problem.

In September 1946 the first conference of the Regional Committee of Tehran was convened, attended by the representatives of several thousand youth. The conference gave birth to a 21-man Regional Committee. On the instructions of Comrade Radmanesh a new program was worked out for reorganizing the TPYO, based on the experiences achieved by foreign Youth Organizations, especially those of the youth of the Soviet Union.

The axis of this new scheme was the principle of centralization, which did not exist in the past due to lack of experienced leaders and regular activities. According to the scheme put into action each of the 21 members of the Regional Committee were responsible for a Party unit called a Section. Several Sections together made a Circle, and there were 7 Circles in all, managed by the best members of the Regional Committee. The seven responsables of these 7 Circles were called the Executive Body of the Regional Committee of Tehran. The plenary session of the 21-man committee was held once a week.

This new organization had a tremendous effect on the progress, expansion and activities of TPYO, because all the principles of the Stalinist methods of Party organization and training were observed. The road selected by Comrade Radmanesh was the right one, unprecedented for the conditions prevailing in Iran. The cadres trained by Comrade Radmanesh were equipped with the Lenin-Stalin qualifications of a practical method of Party activities, converting words and programs designed on paper into living action.

It was at this time that the organ of the TPYO began to appear by the name of Razm, which later was published as a periodical, composed of 16 pages. Its circulation increased gradually, parallel with the expansion of the organization both in Tehran and in the provinces.

#### Fifth Phase:

The temporary retreat of the Azerbaijan movement created new conditions. Besides the oppressions, banishments, tortures and imprisonments with which our members and supporters were confronted, the middle-class, the intellectuals, and the effeminate elements betrayed our Party, ceasing the revolutionary struggle. A group of opportunists stayed in the Party, but made efforts to convert our revolutionary Party devoted to the cause of the working class into a passive and unarmful organization, obedient to the ruling class. This new movement was headed by imperialistic spies like Eprim, Khalil Maleki and Khameyi. The struggle was intensified in the Party, and resulted at last in reformism.

In the TPYO the above-mentioned differences were reflected in the form of "Young Workers" and "Reformers" groups, both of which were composed of corrupt elements, who later joined the reformist group because of their close relations with the treacherous band of Maleki, Eprim and Khameyi. Some of them at present are in the Zahmatkeshan Party (Third Force), led by Khalil Maleki.

In spite of all these conspiratorial steps and provocations, the TPYO remained faithful to the Central Committee of the Party, thanks to the efforts and persistence of Dr. Radmanesh.

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Following the incidents of Azerbaijan the TPYO registered a decline, and this decline lasted several months, beginning in December 1946 and lasting until April 1947. From this date on it reorganized its ranks and succeeded in enduring the blow inflicted upon the Party in December 1946.

The second conference of the TPYO was convened in the fall of 1947, in a very strained atmosphere. Khomeini and his gang made every effort to seize power, but finally were defeated, and after a while were expelled from the Party, before putting into effect their program, designed to create a split in the Party.

Sixth Phase: This phase occupies a period which lasted from the date of reformism up to 4 February 1948 when an attempt was made against the Shah's life. During this period the ideology of the reformist group was defeated, a strong union was created inside the Party and Comrade Radmanesh was appointed secretary-general of our Party. The Second Congress of the Party and the First Congress of TPYO were held in a calm atmosphere, and the first Central Committee elected from youth trained in the democratic movement seized power, starting a fresh movement in the Organization. The instructional work made great progress, and the success achieved in this field was due to the fact that the programs of the cadre classes were based on classic handbooks, such as Dialectic Materialism, Communist Manifesto, and Wages, Rates and Profits.

Our propaganda work has halted by the coup d'etat of Bahman 15 (4 February) but in spite of that we continued our activities clandestinely, of course on a comparatively limited scale.

The centralism brought into existence increased the discipline of the Party. This factor had its advantages, and in the struggle carried on between the Party and the reformist group it proved to be very important. The reformist group was defending liberalism, while we were supporting centralism. They were defeated, because we were against liberalism and anarchism, but, at the same time, this extreme centralism gave birth to new negative aspects, threatening to convert the Party into a military organization. Then some left the Organization, considering its disciplinary regulations too harsh. But finally we learned how to coordinate centralization with democratic methods and freedoms. We learned that there is nothing absolutely good or bad in nature, and that goodness or badness depends upon the conditions prevailing. Centralization is a good idea, but when taken to extremes, it will become harmful. Regulations are necessary for a good organization, but when they exceed their bounds, the organization is governed by a bureaucracy. This is the dialectic course of nature. In order to eliminate the deficiencies, we ought to follow the instructions of Marxism-Leninism, taking part in the practical revolutionary tactics and instructions.

#### Seventh Phase:

Following the attempt made against the King's life, both the Party and the TPYO began a clandestine, subterranean activity, because the Party was declared illegal, the banishments, arrests and imprisonments followed. After one or two months, the TPYO resumed its activities, and in a short time proved capable of bearing all pressures imposed by government officials.

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Eighth Phase:

The greatest achievement of our Party and the TPYO in this period of clandestine activities was the general strike of Khuzestan, which occurred at the end of 1950. Following this strike, the TPYO reached the peak of its power and efficiency, especially by expanding its branches into the provinces.

The struggle for peace started in this phase of the TPYO, by collecting signatures. Its work in this field was appreciated by the Party and the World Federation.

1951 was the year during which the TPYO achieved great successes by organizing peace conferences and conferences defending the rights of youths. The TPYO in this year began to publish regularly its organ, called Javahan, thus preparing a new cadre for Party journalism and publications. It was learned for the first time, that the newspaper should reflect the demands of the new generation, by giving them international training. The new generation was taught to sacrifice its life for the sake of its ideals; and it proved by its blood that the spirit of devotion to the Party's cause has been inspired in it by an accurate and regular Party training. Many of them gave their lives in Tehran, Neazandaran(?), Gilan, Isfahan, etc., during clashes and disturbances.

In the field of Party publications the TPYO has done its best by publishing many books, pamphlets and Party-manuals. The works of Lenin and Stalin, as well as the history of Communist Party, have been translated into Persian and printed. Several other democratic books too have been translated, printed and placed at the disposal of Party members and Iranian citizens, thus preparing a Party cadre for Party classes and propaganda activities.

In this phase the trainees' cells were mixed with the ordinary ones, and new cells were set up with the participation of workers and intellectuals in the same cell. Criticism and self-criticisms were expanded in the Party organs, and everything was done under the direct orders of the Central Committee of the Party without any objection.

The TPYO has been praised and appreciated by the Party's Central Committee for its successful activities and achievements during its 10-year existence. The cadres developed and prepared by the TPYO are excellent reserves for the Party, equipped with certain traditions which are very important, such as confidence in the Party, unconditional faith in USSR, the importance of a constant struggle, etc.

At the same time the TPYO spares no efforts to struggle against nationalism and Farsi chauvinism embodied in any form, and tries to inculcate youth with a spirit of internationalism and true patriotism.

The activities and accomplishments of the TPYO has attracted the attention of the Democratic Federation of World Youth.

On the threshold of our tenth anniversary we have to prepare for new accomplishments and the fulfillment of the tasks awaiting us.

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